1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

622 554 This was dependent entirely, of course, on the personality of the man himself. But the fact that the chief was not necessarily a great warrior is of considerable importance, in that it indicates that his position and power were due primarily to wealth and social prestige, secondarily to birth, and very little, if at all, to prowess in war. The war leaders *(toa)* were those who had distinguished themselves as men of great valor and skill. I have never heard of a man becoming a chief through being a great warrior.

The Chief's Domestic Establishment

622 344 The house of the chief was, of course, larger and more elaborate in its decoration and paraphernalia than that of an average man in his tribe, but other wealthy members of a tribe, and particularly great warriors, had houses equally fine. The main feast and dance area of the tribe *(taha ko'ina)* with its dance floor *(tohua)* and surrounding platforms *(paepae)* was in front of the chief's house. Associated with the feast place and its dance area was commonly a temple *(me'ae)* and nearby, a large warriors' clubhouse. In other words, in addition to the large platform on which was the house of the chief himself, and other smaller platforms for houses of servants, storage, and the like, there were extensive platforms and buildings in close proximity and connected with his house, which made altogether an elaborate establishment.

622 574 609 [696] The chief's house was a place of refuge for strangers and members of his tribe that were fleeing from the personal infliction of punishment, which was the common law of the Marquesas. A stranger *(manihi'i)* in a valley taken under the protection of the chief and entertained by him was *tapu* and hence protected against any harm from members of the tribe. Melville's account of his stay in Tai-pi valley gives a good picture of a practical application of this rule. The old saying was, "*Mea tapu te manahi'i; ua tapapa te haka-iki*" (The stranger is sacred, the chief entertains him).

The Chief's Family

622 592 624 The personnel of the chief's household was made up of his primary or sealed wife *(vehine fati tapu)*, secondary husbands and wives *(pekio)*, his natural and foster children, relatives of his own and of his wife, and servants—always members of his tribe, who had put themselves voluntarily in his service by taking refuge at his house for the sake of protection, or those whom he had summoned to serve him. The most important of all the chief's servants was his fire tender, always a secondary husband of his primary wife, undoubtedly for the reason that this position was one of great trust and responsibility. The *tahu ahi* (fire tender), as this man

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

701 through prowess, as a result of strength, skill, and fearlessness, which singled a man out as being a leader in battle. The *toa* should not be called war chiefs, because it is clear that they functioned only as assistants of the tribal chiefs in organizing the tribe for war, and that in the totally unorganized fighting they were merely leaders by example. When the fighting men of the tribe, who were called inclusively on Nuku Hiva *mata hoka (mata*, eye, face; *hoka*, courageous), were summoned, it was to the *toa* that the chief gave his orders. The *toa* went himself to perform the duty or sent someone else. It was frequently, perhaps usually, an administrative *tuhuna* who went as *pa'e vi'i*. As an executive under the chief, the *toa* had also policing duties, if they may be called such. If, for instance, servants in the chief's house had displeased him, had left his establishment, or had insulted him by breaking a *tapu*, the chief would send one of his *toa* after the culprit to kill him. In battle, the *toa* went ahead of other fighting men, demonstrating their valor, seeking to add to their reputation for prowess, and at the same time stimulating the bravery of the tribesmen behind them, who were inspired to emulate their fighting.

THE WARRIOR'S HOUSE

712 A large house that stood on its own platform and was built in the
● 344 usual style of native dwellings, though of greater length, was a part of the chief's establishment and as such was near his house and the dance area of the tribe. This house served more or less as a gathering place for men during peace times. But its main function was as an eating and sleeping place for men during the times of *tapu* on account of participation in fighting—times at which all association with women was absolutely forbidden. I never succeeded in obtaining any generic name for this
[552] house. Every house of this type, on Nuku Hiva and also on Hiva Oa, had its own particular name. For instance, that of the warriors of the Pa'ahatai tribe at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, was named Fiti Nui. This was not on or near the *tohua* of the tribe, but stood on a small hill on the southern side of the valley in a small stockaded fort named Akahua. Pua Ma'u warriors had also on the plateau behind their valley another sleeping house in which they stayed and ate during the wars that took them into that region. The warriors' house of one of the tribes in Tai o Hae was called Ha'e Mamane *(ha'e*, house; *mamane*, wrath); that in Tai-pi valley Melville calls Ti (Tai or Tae); that in Haka Ui was named Oho Toka. The fighters had their food brought to them in the warrior's house by men who were not combatants, never by women. The warriors' house at Taiohae was described to me as being not only a sleeping and eating place, but also a place in which the instruments, ornaments, and dress used in

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

war were kept by the fighters during peace time. It seems probable that this was the particular domain of the war leaders. Melville (23, pp. 101-102) gives of such a house the following description:

> In its vicinity was another remarkable edifice, built as usual upon the summit of a pi-pi, and at least two hundred feet in length, though not more than twenty in breadth. The whole front of this latter structure was completely open, and from one end to the other ran a narrow verandah, fenced in on the edge of the pi-pi with a picket of canes. Its interior presented the appearance of an immense lounging place, the entire floor being strewn with successive layers of mats, lying between parallel trunks of cocoa-nuts trees, selected for the purpose from the straightest and most symmetrical the vale afforded.
>
> On entering the house, I was surprised to see six muskets ranged against the bamboo on one side, from the barrels of which depended as many small canvas pounches, partly filled with powder. Disposed about these muskets, like the cutlasses that decorate the bulkhead of a man-of-war's cabin, were a great variety of rude spears and paddles, javelins, and war-clubs.

The following description of the warriors', or men's *tapu* house is translated from Garcia's account (14, pp. 54-56):

> Picture in the middle of each village, sometimes before the house of each chief of any note, an esplanade in the form of a parallelogram, thirty to sixty feet long by fifteen to twenty-five wide, entirely built of stones, the upper surfaces of which are smoothly laid, the whole elevated three or four feet above the surface of the ground, sometimes much more. A notched tree trunk leaning against the side serves as a ladder. On such tapu platforms, on which women are never allowed to come, are erected lengthways with the rectangle, but slightly toward the rear, leaving an open space in front, little sacred shelters open in front. The thatched roofs are often supported . . . by small, low, wood columns . . . carved in the form of images of the god, Tiki. . . . It is in this house that all the men of the village customarily come together for their prayers to the gods, and especially for meals, which appear in some way to be regarded as religious rites. . . . Before the meal, each person offers a little bit of food which is hidden in the foliage, saying, "It is for the god (*na te Atua*"). We have even seen their priest but *popoi* in the mouths of their images. . . . The feast over, the remains of the repast are hung upon the walls. . . . . There are in different parts of the apartment, little ornaments and objects made of woven reed and leaves; these are the baubles of the superstition of the inspirational priests. . . . There are often, also, suspended over head by means of little pillars, the shrines decorated with strips of cloth enclosing the bodies of deceased persons of distinction.

THE WARRIORS' DRESS

One of the main reasons for the men's tattooing was to inspire fear in the minds of enemies. This may be regarded also as the primary purpose of most of the headgear and other ornaments used by men. Tattooing, dress and ornaments were to give the fighter the appearance of ferocity, power, alertness and speed. Fighters in general wore such dress and ornaments as they were fortunate enough to possess, were it *pa'e kea, pava hina, titi owoho,* or what not. (See Personal Adornment.) The war dress of the *toa* was always highly elaborate. Their position required it

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

among various households, the tribe had an elaborate internal organization and presented a united front against outsiders. There was considerable contact with members of other tribes, under conditions of truce at feasts, trading visits, etc. The natives knew all the outstanding individuals from other tribes and had accurate information as to their activities. The Marquesans were cautious in making blood brotherhood with members of other tribes, each man trying to secure an *enoa* whose status was as high as or higher than his own. But in spite of the wide knowledge of one tribe by another, the relations between tribes were always at least covertly hostile, and wars flared up from time to time.

The tribes were sometimes fused by marriages or adoption between families of ruling chiefs, but such unions were uncertain for some generations, at least until a number of similar bonds had been established between the households of lower status on both sides. Other households, particularly those with long-standing blood feuds, would often try to prevent such unions. For example, I heard of a case in which an intertribal marriage had been arranged, but another household of high status in the tribe, who had an unsettled feud with the bride's family, killed one of the men escorting the bride to their village, thereby breaking the marriage contract and keeping the feud going. This household had several revenge victims coming to them before the score was settled, and did not intend to allow things to be settled peacefully.

Each tribe, like each household, had a physical center. This community center was rated as part of the chief's household establishment, and although used by the entire tribe, was considered his property. The central feature of this community center was a huge feasting place and dance ground called the *tohua*. The building of this structure entailed an incredible amount of labor, since many tons of rock had to be moved in. The *tohua* was often three to four hundred feet long by forty or fifty feet wide, and might be built up twenty feet high on the lower side. In the center was a level floor for dances and

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

619 344 exhibition of food; all around this was a series of platforms which were assigned to the various classes of the population as grandstands. Attached to the regular *tohua* would be, first, the altar platform, which was the seat of the ancestral gods; then a seat for the chief and his immediate family, and after that the platform for the priests, that for the *tuhunga*, and that of the warriors, a large affair having a permanent house which was taboo for women; lastly, there were a platform for women and children, and a big platform for visiting members of other tribes. A new *tohua* was usually built for the eldest son of the chief, an act which raised the status of the chief's family and the tribe.

619 778 [782 764] The tribe also had one or more sacred places in the hills which were used for human sacrifices and for the final disposal of the dead. There were also the sacred place of the fishermen and the great food pits. All this property belonged to the tribe, the fact of tribal membership entitling anyone to its use.

The Household

592 595 The Marquesan household was polyandrous, there being usually two or three men to one woman, while in the household of the chief there might be eleven or twelve men to three or four women, one head wife and subsidiary wives. Well-to-do households would usually add one or even two wives to the establishment some years after the initial marriage of the household head. All members of such a group had sexual rights in each other, the arrangement constituting a sort of group marriage. A chief or head of a rich family would sometimes arrange a marriage with a young woman because she had three or four lovers whom he wished to attach. The men would follow the woman; in this way the family head could build up the man power of his household. Only the poorest households at the lower social levels were monogamous, and there was much envy of rich households by poor ones.

592 Household, rather than family, is the proper term for the basic social unit of Marquesan society. Households were graded